DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 276 897 CE 046 032

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TITLE The History of Adult Education in Greece.
PUB DATE Jul 86
NOTE 32p.; Paper presented at the International Conference on the History of Adult Education (Oxford, England, July 14-17, 1986).
PUB TYPE Historical Materials (060) -- Speeches/Conference Papers (150)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Adult Education; Educational Change; *Educational History; *Educational Opportunities; Educational Practices; Foreign Countries; *Government Role; *Nonformal Education; Postsecondary Education; Program Development; *Self Help Programs
IDENTIFIERS *Greece

ABSTRACT

Adult education in Greece dates back to the time of Homer. Poetry and Panhellenic festivals were the earliest forms of adult education in Greece. By classical times, however, an entire learning society of human and material resources had been developed. Greek society experienced periods of high levels of culture and learning only to be conquered militarily by nations superior in warfare but less cultured in such areas as art, literature, and science. However, adult learning never seemed to have totally died out at any given period. Despite the elitism and exclusivity of some forms of education for adults (particularly higher learning), efforts have been directed periodically throughout Greek history to educate the mass populace and raise the general level of education for all adults. The development of free-standing or informal discussion groups and learning circles as a form of adult education is evident throughout Greek history. In modern times adult education is available through the following operating systems: formal education (basic and secondary education for adults, inservice teacher education, and vocational-technical education for adults); nonformal and informal education (programs sponsored by various government ministries; other government agencies such as banks and churches; and voluntary, semigovernmental, and private initiatives); and client systems and programs to provide self-help among selected groups (women, families, parents, farmers, rural residents, professionals, elderly individuals, youth, disabled persons, and returning emigrants). (MN)

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The History of Adult Education in Greece

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Presented at the

International Conference on the History of Adult Education
14-17 July, 1986

Oxford University
Rewley House
Oxford, England

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
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The History of Adult Education in Greece

Abstract

An encapsulated overview of adult education in Greece from ancient to modern times is presented. The study progressed through the following periods: a) Prehistory (c. 3000-1100 B.C.), b) Archaic (c. 1100-700 B.C.), c) Preclassical and Classical (c. 699-323 B.C.), d) Hellenistic (323-146 B.C.), e) Graeco-Roman (146 B.C.-330 A.D.), f) Byzantine Era (330 A.D.-1453), Turkish occupation and rule (1453-1821), h) Modern Greece (1821-present). Organized civilization in Greece dates to about 3000 B.C. Data is restricted, however, to archeological evidence until about 1100 B.C., the dawn of written history in Greece. While poetry and Panhellenic festivals were the earliest form of adult education, by Classical times an entire learning society of human and material resource had developed. The flame of adult learning never extinguished throughout all periods of Greek history although it took many forms and styles. All of them can be discerned throughout Greek history, particularly the powerful impact that Classical ideals have had on adult education efforts.

The History of Adult Education in Greece

Introduction

We have convened at this "International Conference on the History of Adult Education" to examine the field/discipline of adult education in an historical manner--an event which is history-making in its own right. Since the focus of my contribution is upon the history of adult education in Greece it seems significant to note that Herodotus (c.484-424 B.C.), the earliest historian in the West, is often considered the father of history, and Thucydides (č. 460-400 B.C.) as one of the founders of western historiography. Befitting also is the observation that an etymological deriviation of the word "history" is rooted in the Greek "ἱστορία"(istoria) which originally meant "a learning or knowing by inquiry" from"ἵστορ" (istor)--a "knowing, learned, wise man [person]."

Inquiries which help us understand the evolution and development of adult education in a variety of countries can lay the groundwork for comparative analyses among countries. Additionally, such data can enrich and deepen the study of any one country--or parts thereof. Enrichment and depth occur when case studies of any one country include investigations of events and developments occurring outside of the country's geographical bounds in terms of their influence upon or

contribution to adult education in the country under study. This undertaking, however, is an incremental process and will be aided by knowledge of the historical progression of adult education in other countries.

My own inquiry into adult education in Greece was initially begun during 1980 and focused on modern Greece because I was bothered by the lack of literature (in English, Greek, or any other language) on adult education in Greece and intrigued with the territory. By 1982 I had initiated a simultaneous effort which explored paideia in classical Greece as a precursor to current conceptualizations of a learning society. I soon became convinced that I could not understand modern Greece without knowledge of what went on before it nor classical Greece without an understanding of what came after it. Likewise, an understanding of the larger societal context was equally important.

As I studied the socio-economic, political, and cultural contexts of the various periods and their influence on the development and forms which adult education took I began to explore influences well beyond the domestic arena of Greece that impacted upon the societal forces shaping the emergence and functions of adult education (an exploration which has only just begun). A good example is the influence of the French enlightenment (occurring at a time when Greece was under Turkish occupation) upon the emergence of a Greek enlightenment (1750-1821) and the corresponding emphasis on

revival of a Greek national identity and cultural education of the people.

The purpose of this abbreviated paper is to encapsulate the process and results of this ongoing inquiry and to stimulate dialogue on future directions. A more extensive treatment is forthcoming in book form (Boucouvalas, in press). Fuller documentation and coverage than appears in this paper is available from that source or directly from the author. Due to space constraints only highlights are presented herein.

Approach

First, for definitional purposes adult education was broadly and comprehensively treated as a process by which adults learn and have learned in Greek society including both independent self-initiated efforts and organized, sponsored efforts as well as societal structures, arrangements, and means which catalyzed and supported learning endeavors in various periods. The educative nature of various popular and social movements as well as the movement of adult education as an attempt to change the social order were included.

A thorough investigation of literature in the Greek and English language (books, articles, dissertations, papers, etc.) regarding the learning and education of adults in Greece, as well as the socio-economic, political and cultural context laid a foundation for the study. Primary sources for data were used as much as possible from ancient to modern arenas. Two field trips were taken to Greece (1981, 1984) to investigate

material available only in the country (e.g., archival data, legislation and statutory regulations, proceedings from conferences, speeches, media coverage, etc.) and to systematically collect empirical data. In person interviews, telephone interviews, field notes, participant observation, and other tools were used.

Major historical eras in Greek history provided a framework for periodization. Basically, ancient and medieval Greece were investigated in more general terms as forerunners to modern Greece (1821-present). Efforts were addressed at distilling out major themes and continuities throughout Greek history relevant to adult education. The following framework, therefore, provided direction:

1. Pre History (c. 3000 B.C. - 1100 B.C.)
2. Archaic (c. 1100 B.C. - 700 B.C.)
3. Pre-Classical & Classical (c. 700 - 323 B.C.)
4. Hellenistic (323-146 B.C.)
5. Graeco-Roman (146 B.C. - 330 A.D.)
6. Byzantine Era (330 A.D. - 1453)
7. Turkish Occupation and Rule (1453-1821)
8. Modern Greece (1821-present)

Modern Greece may additionally be subdivded into 19th and 20th century. The process of carving out the 20th century into manageable periods was guided by marker events idiosyncratic to the country of Greece. For example, termination of the Balkan Wars (~1912-1913) and the transfer of Turkish and Greek

populations during the early 1920's are far more significant events than the usual and customary historical periods of pre and post World War I. Likewise with World War II. While post World War II is generally indicative of reconstruction efforts in many countries, Greece was immediately plunged into a civil war which was not resolved until 1949. Consequently, the 1950's into the 1960's is considered a reconstruction era in Greece. Moreover, the years 1967-1974 have special significance in Greece for they signify the reign of a military dictatorship. Likewise with the years 1974-1980 which heralded the return of democracy and the years 1981-present which have witnessed the first socialist government in Greek history.

Generalizing a bit beyond the present case study of Greece, then, with regard to periodization in the historical study of adult education we face a challenge in terms of how best to approach this task. Do we employ marker events which have meaning to the specific country, do we choose major historical events of worldwide significance in order to ultimately permit comparative analyses, or do we follow some other means or combination thereof.

Recognizing at the outset that a comprehensive understanding of the history of adult education in any country was a mammoth task, a foundational overview seemed in order. Consequently, this inquiry represents an initial effort to lay such a groundwork--that is, a descriptive attempt to gather the varied pieces of information and construct them in such a way so

as to form an emerging picture of the whole. Major attention was devoted, therefore, to chronicling and chronologizing the appearance, evolution, and development of adult learning and education endeavors in Greece and distilling out major themes within and across periods. Although interpretive work on the meaning of the findings was undertaken at every opportunity, authenticity and accuracy (particularly of sequencing) were major goals. Once a strong foundation has been built, future inquiry can more fully focus on interpretive questions.

The Story

Pre History (c. 3000 B.C. - 1100 B.C)

Prehistoric evidence from archeological research (many recent discoveries of which continue to the present day) indicates that the human species (Neanderthal) first appeared in Greece during the Paleolithic Era of the Stone-Age. During the Neolithic period, however, more organized settlements became evident on the island of Crete (known as Minoan culture). At this time the culture of the Orient, Egypt, Babylonia, etc.) were already evolved. Literacy was beginning to take root in these cultures.

By the time of the Bronze age another focal point of Greek civilization had emerged in the Mycaenian culture on mainland Greece and gained prominence during the first millenium. Linear A and Linear B, the writing systems of the Minoan and Mycaenian cultures, respectively, seem to represent transitionary links between sign and character "letters" to the Greek alphabet

which emerged thereafter. Since linear B was just deciphered during 1952 by British architect Michael Ventris we may have much yet to learn about the learning endeavors of this period.

Archaic (c. 1100 B.C. - 700 B.C.)

A decline in the Mycaenian civilization led to growth of the city-states and by 800 B.C. Greek colonization had begun to spread to Asia Minor in the East and Sicily in the West (with some colonies as far west as Southern Spain. During this period, which is considered the dawn of historical times, the legendary blind poet Homer lived. He is credited with having written The Iliad, an epic poem which provides the earliest written records of Greek history.

Homer may be considered as one of the earliest educators of adults in Greece along with poets who followed him such as Hesiod, Sappho, and others, particularly if one were to extract as evidence Aristophanes' assertion that "poets are the schoolmasters of grown men." Since poetry was easier to memorize and transmit, it served as a vehicle of education. Written prose arose only when written language and materials were more available.

A "sound mind in a sound body" was a guiding premise as early as archaic times. Physical as well as cultural and intellectual development were considered an integral part of education. The organization of the PanHellenic Festivals, therefore, represented a noteworthy educative structure for

adults. Authors, poets, artists, and others met, competed, and consciously educated each other.

The most well-known of the festivals, however, were the Olympic Games which were also heralded for their role in peace education, particularly as an expression of unity among otherwise isolated and disparate city-states. Estimated to have begun during 776 B.C., they occurred every four years until 393 A.D. when they were abolished by a Roman emperor. Revived during 1896, attempts are now underway by the Greek people to return the Games to Greece for the 1996 centennial.

PreClassical and Classical (~699 - 323 B.C.)

The emergence of the classical era of Greece, about which volumes have been written, evolved gradually from the time of the Persian wars during the sixth and fifth century B.C. City-states became unified against the enemy. It was Athens alone, however, that defeated the Persians at the Battle of Marathon, an event considered significant by most historians since it gave self-confidence to the Athenian people, enabled them to withstand later Persian invasions until the final withdrawal of Persia in 479 B.C. and final peace negotiations in 448 B.C. As Bury (1913, p. 24) put it "The Athenians always looked back to Marathon as marking an epoch." Even today modern Greece commemorates the Battle of Marathon.

As the center of intellectual activity gravitated toward Athens, Greece's golden age seemed to exemplify modern-day conceptualizations of a learning society. Although the idea

of learning as a lifelong process abounded throughout Greece, Persia, and other areas the philosophical foundations were different in Athens. Based on democratic tenets, all citizens were involved in a participatory manner. As revealed from a comparative study of lifelong learning in ancient Greece and China, two major differences were apparent (Hung, 1971): a) lifelong learning in ancient China was the "privilege of the nobility" while in Greece it was widespread even from the time of the Persian Wars, b) while democracy in Greece required and encouraged education and participation of the citizens in the government of the polis, the Chinese despotism discouraged learning and involvement in politics.

The social, economic, and political context all seemed to provide an atmosphere for the emergence of a learning climate for adults. For example, under the administration of Peisistratus (546-527 B.C.) the educative nature of the PanHellenic Festivals was expanded and by 450 B.C. Perciles introduced cultural enrichment for the masses with the "theorikon"--a special state fund earmarked to cover attendance fees to the theater for the poor. The theater, of course, was not merely escapist in nature but an important educational medium. Greek tragedy was particularly educative in nature.

Although much too extensive to expand upon within space constraints, it was the city that educated the person. The constant intellectual search of many well-known philosophers brought learning to the people. Included among the prime

shapers were: Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Isocrates, Xenephon. Development of the whole person was the aim. Consequently the philosophers were often at odds with the Sophists (itinerant lecturers--usually seeking to develop rhetoric and oratorial skills in others--some of whom charged a fee). Generally, however, public learning opportunities abounded.

Eventually, the rise of Philip II, King of Macedon, and his defeat of Athens in 338 B.C. noted the end of freedom for the Greek city-states. He was succeeded by his son Alexander the Great who defeated the Persians in 334 B.C., freed the Greek city-states, then "conquered" the East and West. The period between Alexander's death (323 B.C.) and the Roman conquest of Greece (146 B.C.) is known as the Hellenistic Age.

Classical Greece, however, and the meaning which adult education took continued and continues to affect adult education thought and endeavors throughout Greek history to the present day. For example, because of a strong attachment to classical ideals (cultural education of the whole person) vocational education legislation did not even appear in Greece until 1959. The governmental adult education administration from the 1960's to 1980 espoused the classical roots of the lifelong learning ideal and sought to educate others in this regard. The recent government of the 1980's, however, has expressed concern that a strict adherence to classical ideals could potentially interfere with operationalizing adult education

for the masses. Both perspectives may be complementary.

A resurgence of classical ideals (of education) likewise influenced countries in both Europe and the U.K. during the period of Turkish occupation of Greece (1453-1821)--events which eventually promoted a national identity within the Greek people, a respect for ancient ancestry, and liberation from the Turks with the aid of philhellenes from Europe and the U.K.

Hellenistic Period (323 - 146 B.C.)

The soldiers of Alexander became teachers of the world as Greek culture and civilization spread throughout the ancient world. Since human and intellectual resources were drained from mainland Greece, Athens eventually became prey for the eventual Roman conquest in 146 B.C. Alexandria became the new center for learning.

During these years, however, much of the basic knowledge upon which Western civilization is based was founded. Further, as explained by Rostovtzeff (1963, p. 33), during the Hellenistic Age "learning and the importance of learning were then for the first time recognized and appreciated by the state." Also, the first public libraries were established.

Graeco-Roman Years (146 B.C. - 330 A.D.)

Rome, in effect, became the "protector" of Greece, as well as Greek culture and learning--another historic period about which volumes have been written. During the 2nd century B.C. neoclassicism arose in art and Roman emperor Marcus Aurelius

established a university in Athens. By 27 B.C. the center of intellectual activity had shifted back again to Athens which became acclaimed as a center for learning.

The Roman pagan empire gradually transformed into the Christian Empire. The beginning of the Byzantine period is marked by the founding of Byzantium as the Eastern Roman Empire in 330 A.D. by Emperor Constantine.

Byzantine Era (330 A.D.-1453)

Byzantium, later named Constantinople, gradually developed as the center for Greek culture. The Greek language particularly had acted as a unifying influence in creating a country with such a long history. The richness of the classical texts particularly had ensured a long life for the language.

The early years of the Byzantine period witnessed continuous clashes between pagan Hellenism and Christianity. Earlier in 394 A.D. the Olympic Games were forbidden in this vein to remove pagan practices.

During 476 A.D. with the downfall of the western empire due to barbaric invasions, Constantinople replaced Rome as the capital of the Roman Empire. By 529 Emperor Justinian closed the University in Athens since it represented paganism. The Christian world had not yet built their own schools of learning so places of worship became gathering places for learning endeavors including, but not limited to, bible studies.

A discussion of adult learning endeavors will be encapsulated according to centuries since the Byzantine era is one of the

longest periods in the history of Greece, extending from the fourth to the fifteenth century.

Between the fourth and sixth centuries Monasticism became established and contributed to the preparation and further development of counselors, administrators, and theologians. By the mid-sixth to the mid-seventh centuries the first golden age emerged. Christianity had taken root, but connections with classical ideals were still influential in learning even after the closing of the university in Athens during 529.

About the mid-seventh to the mid-eighth centuries is considered Byzantium's darkest epoch; energy was directed to defense against invading enemies. Greeks who were forced to flee to Southern Italy influenced culture and learning positively there. Education and learning throughout the Greek world was not allowed to die out.

By the mid-eighth to the mid-ninth centuries efforts were made to make education accessible to everyone. A school of higher learning, free to everyone, was organized in Constantinople. What role the "free school" played in educating the populace, however, is an area which seems to warrant further inquiry. Beyond the institutional domain a reading club took root at the home of Photius, a teacher at the university. His personal library was likewise open to friends.

From about the mid-ninth to the mid-eleventh centuries an increased regard for the civilization of ancient Greece was witnessed and the intellectual atmosphere of the previous

century was continued by Emperor Leo VI, a pupil of Photius, whose imperial palace resembled a lyceum.

The influence of emperors on the learning climate of the times was significant. During the tenth century Emperor Constantine VIII protected education and the intellectual progress of Byzantium, but by the end of the tenth and beginning of the eleventh century Emperor Basil II treated scholars with disdain and learning was neglected by a majority of the people. It was not until the middle of the eleventh century that governmental support of higher education was revived. Urged by a learned circle of individuals led by the philosopher-scholar Psellus, a university was established in Constantinople during 1045. Noteworthy from an adult education perspective is that the university had its beginning in 1044 as a legal school to educate administrative employees.

The twelfth century is considered the first Hellenic renaissance in the history of Byzantium. Learning permeated society and homes like that of Efstathios, Archbishop of Thessalonika, became centers around which the best minds collected. The crusades at the beginning of the thirteenth century resulted in the overthrow of the Byzantine government in 1204, replacing it with a Latin ruler, but learning activities and enthusiasm appeared not to wane as the churches assumed the role of community centers and discussion places.

With Latin rule, however, separate Greek states formed, one of which (Nicaea) became the hotbed of culture. Significant

is that the first ruler of Nicaea, Theodore I Pascaris, was interested in the problem of learning and his successor (John II Ducas Vatatzes) devoted energies to the cultural needs of the empire. This foundation appears to have led to the restoration (political and spiritual) of the Byzantine empire in 1261. Nicaea thus served as a bridge to the second Hellenic renaissance during the fourteenth century.

Although receding to invasions of the Ottoman Turks during the fourteenth century, Constantinople still remained a center of learning and attracted people from afar who felt an enormous debt was owed to classical Greece. The golden age of Thessalonika also arose as a center for Greek scholarship. In fact, the root of the modern day cooperative movement in Greece as an educative venture can be traced to Thessalonika during the fourteenth century as detailed elsewhere (Boucouvalas, 1984a). Noteworthy also was the dense nucleus of scholars writing about the problems of injustice and social inequality. Their writings about the reformation of society and the state provided inspiration to later activists.

Finally, during the fifteenth century immigration westward accelerated. With the pressing onset of the Turks, scholars particularly fled West taking manuscripts and library collections with them. Vasilev (1952, p. 722) comments: "By transmitting classical works to the West and thereby saving them from destruction at the hands of the Turks, Byzantium performed great service for the future destinies of mankind [humankind]."

The complete fall of Byzantium to the Turks is marked by the year 1453.

Turkish Occupation and Rule (1453-1821)

The first hundred years of subjugation are recognized by historians as the bleakest and most difficult. In general written evidence about the years does not begin until the sixteenth Century (1500's). By the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century schools started to appear all over Greece. In Athens, for example, "schools were attended not only by children but by older notables" (Bakalopoulos, 1976, p. 180).

Also many Greek people who had been living (and died) abroad made provisions in their wills for the establishment of learning centers in their birthplaces. This nationalistic fervor and identity of the Greek people is a constant and continuous characteristic which is evident throughout Greek history to the present day.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the formation of literary-type clubs (called academies) surfaced, which were fashioned after those that appeared during the Italian renaissance. Participants came together in closed circles and in public to discuss science, politics, and literature. Examples include the Academy of Stranvaaganti founded in Crete around 1590 and the Academy Delgi Assicurati on Corfu around 1656.

During 1661 the Great School of the Nation was founded in Constantinople by Patriarch Cyril Lucaris to raise the cultural standard of the Greek nation. This establishment was part of an attempt at cultural revival, but Lucaris was finally executed by the Turks.

A less planned but more profound impact on the Greek people and nation was the development during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries of self-governing institutions which seemed to provide an educative function for the Greeks. They were "legal entities, independent of the administration of the ruling power, but...enjoying its tolerance." "Every town or village, other than those which belonged to feudal estate, might combine in such a manner" (Zakythinos, 1976, p. 57). In some areas inhabitants could run for election as administrative officers. Citizens became educated in the process and learned to solve their own community problems. These self-governing units contributed to the self-preservation of the Greek people. Ambelakia in Thessaly is a good example of a self-governing unit which also contributed to the development of the cooperative movement in Greece, the founding of which is estimated at about 1780, thus preceding the Rochdale pioneers of England. Other brotherhoods, unions of artisans, and guilds proliferated in Greece during the Turkish occupations performing an important adult education function of enabling members to learn from each other.

By the mid-eigtheenth century to the early nineteenth century a variety of factors led to a realization among the Greek people of their bondage. First, the buildup of trade and commerce seemed to form a middle class who became conscious of their own oppression. With the founding of Greek commercial companies overseas some moved away. Together with the Greek officials, who acted as translators for Turkish transactions around the world, they recognized the importance of freedom from the Turkish rule and attracted the attention of Philhellenes from Europe and Great Britain. Joining with scholars who had fled to different parts of Western Europe in previous years (most of whom retained their Greek identity), a mass effort was mounted toward undertaking, in Freirian terms, a "pedagogy of the oppressed" as well as a general education of the Greek public by translating major Western advances of the time into the Greek language for consumption. A major form that adult education took, then, during this period was aimed at liberation--first of the mind and attitude.

By the beginning of the nineteenth century a more action-oriented form of education initiated by the Greek people was the formation of activist societies for cultural education, liberation, and revolt. Via these educational efforts the Greek people were drawn together with a strong national consciousness and educated politically. By 1821 it was official--the Greek War of Independence from Turkish rule

had begun. The role that adult education had played in this process was decisive.

Modern Greece (1821-present)

With the Treaty of Adrianaople on September 14, 1829 Greece's autonomy was recognized by Turkey and a proposal for complete independence ratified on February 3, 1830. Modern Greece as we know it today, however, evolved piecemeal over a century. The Ioanian Islands were not added until 1864; Thessalonika by 1882; Epiros, Macedonia, Crete, and most of the Aegean Islands after the Balkan Wars (1912-1913), and the Dodecanese Islands during 1947 (formally annexed during 1948).

Major driving forces in adult education throughout the nineteenth century seemed to reflect and contribute to the mood of the times: to heal a broken nation and make it whole again. Legislation sprang forth establishing the Greek educational system, but attention to adult education was missing from public efforts (with the exception of the establishment of libraries). The private sector rose to catalyze and dominate adult education efforts in this period as examined in previous papers (Boucouvalas, 1982a, 1982b; Boucouvalas & Drower, 1984b). Briefly, the following themes have emerged to characterize adult education in nineteenth century Greece: a) The establishment of libraries (and museums), b) Efforts to raise the social, cultural, and intellectual knowledge of mass populace, c) Founding of learned societies and special interest groups

for continuing education and networking purposes. Despite liberation for a portion of Greece the years were not peaceful. Internal instability in politics, coupled with the burden of compatriots still under Ottoman rule made for turbulent times.

The beginning of the twentieth century witnessed developmental activities within various strata of the population. For example, a variety of professional associations were founded, which provided a means of growth and development for its members. Learned societies and research centers also emerged, most of which are still in existence and have libraries of which adult learners can avail themselves. The educative function of cooperatives became more formalized during this period with establishment of the first modern farmers' cooperative in Almyros and the enactment of enabling legislation in 1915. Private efforts also arose for the continuing education of farmers. Likewise the General Confederation of Greek workers was established during 1912.

The twentieth century will likewise be briefly encapsulated. The century has witnessed wide political and economic fluctuation, along with territorial gains, losses, and threats. Although territorial reaquisitions were beneficial to the growth of modern Greece, struggles over Asia Minor were not settled until the 1923 Treaty of Lausanne and at that it was far from peaceful. Since the fall of Byzantium in 1453 Greeks had harbored the hope of Asia Minor once again becoming Greek

(a "fever" known as the or Great Idea). The 1923 Treaty ended Greek rule in Asia Minor and an exchange of population was transacted whereby Turks living in Macedonia Area were exchanged for Greeks living in Asia Minor. To fuel matters further prior to the exchange the Turks has massacared populations of both Greeks and Armenians in the Asia Minor area. As a direct result of the exodus, the YWCA came to Greece and has remained as a powerful voluntary force in adult education endeavors. Turning to domestic matters, during 1929 the first official government input for adult education appeared in the form of legislation (law 4397) which established night schools for illiterates.

By the 1930's High Schools and gymnasia were again part of the adult eduction scene. During this decade organized professional development activities continued for many strata from actors/actresses to hotel and restaurant workers.

The 1940's were war-torn in that World War II was followed by Civil War. The year 1943, however, marked a significant advance in governmental support for adult education; a special office for adult education was established.

It was not until the 1950's, however, when reconstruction began that the office became active. A significant accomplishment was the enactment of Law 3084 of 1954 on literacy, thus ushering in an extensive system to deal with illiteracy which continues to the present. Additional legislation and action in this regard has been enacted several times since then in establishing

a nationwide campaign to combat illiteracy. UNESCO consultants were instrumental in these efforts.

An overview of the structure and form of adult education as it has evolved to present-day Greece is discussed below: Use was made of Schroeder's (1981) typology in this regard (Leadership systems, Operating systems, and Client system). Leadership systems (adult education degree programs, research centers, professional associations, and private foundations) are for the most part absent from Greece. An exception is the Center for Studies and Self-Education (KEMEA after the Greek acronym), a non-profit group geared to popular education efforts which began publishing a quarterly periodical during 1983. (During October, 1985, KEMEA became Greece's first member of the International Council for Adult Education.) Also, the government has continually provided broad policy guidelines for adult education.

One can, however, still not characterize adult education in Greece as a discipline or field of study or practice given the lack of leadership systems, but that appears to be evolving, and certainly operating systems abound as does focus on a variety of client groups as shown in Figure 1 (p. 23).

The education and learning activities of adults in modern Greece is extensive. Many of the institutional bases and forms initiated during the nineteenth and early twentieth century are still a significant part of the adult education matrix.

Operating Systems

Formal Educational System

Basic and Secondary Education for Adults
In-Service Education of Teachers
Vocational-Technical Education

Nonformal & Informal

Ministerial Involvement in Adult Education
- Ministry of Agriculture
- Ministry of Justice
- Ministry of the Interior
- Ministries of Merchant Marine and National Defense
- Ministry of Health and Social Welfare
- Ministry of the National Economy
  - Center of Planning and Economic Research
  - ELKEPA (Greek Productivity Center)
- Ministry of Labor (including Manpower Development Agency)
- Minstry of the Prime Minister
  - Council for the Equality of the Sexes
  - Under-Ministry of the New Generation
- Ministry of Culture and Science
- Ministry of Education (and National Religion)

Other Governmental Bodies
- EOMMEX (Organization of mid-size enterprises)
- Banks
- Churches
- Other

Voluntary, Semi-governmental, and Private Initiatives
- YWCA & YMCA
- League of Volunteers
- Auxiliary Services (e.g., libraries and resource centers)
- Civic Centers
- Cultural Centers
- Sport Centers
- Language Institutes

The Peace Movement and Peace Education

Client Systems and Self-Help Among Selected Groups

Women (and the women's movement)
Families and parent education
Agricultural (and extension workers)
- rural peasants, and those affiliated with cooperatives (and the cooperative movement)

Employees, managers, unemployed (as well as the labor movement)
Continuing education of professionals
Aged and youth
Disabled
Returning emigrants

Figure 1. The emerging "system" of adult education in Greece

Prior to the War of Independence adult education appeared to play a significant role in awakening people to their oppression and educating them for "revolt" and liberation. After the war, the education of adults--particularly in a non-formal manner via non-governmental means was aimed at healing and unification. The leverage of both efforts was the awakening or reawakening of a nationalist identity in the Greek people that transcended present time and space--a thrust that reconnected them with the "glorious ancestors." This return to the past seems to have been used (consciously or unconsciously) as a social action type tool throughout Greek history during periods in which the educational level of the people waned. Likewise, throughout history voices have arisen advising that too strong an attachment to the past may overshadow full actualization of present potential--from Mosiodax (1730-1800) a Romanian who introduced the ideas of Locke into Greece (Theocharides, 1971) to the present. This observation, however, is only one of the many themes that permeates the history of adult education in Greece. A sampling of others will conclude the paper.

Reflections and Themes

Setbacks especially from wars and strife have disrupted continuity of efforts; however, several major recurring themes become apparent

1. Repeatedly throughout history Greek society during various periods rose to high levels of culture and

learning only to be conquered militarily by those superior in warfare but with less cultured intelligence in art, literature, science, and such areas. The flame of adult learning, however, never seemed to have been totally extinguished in any subjugation period.

2. Despite the elitism and exclusivity of some forms of education for adults (particularly higher learning), efforts have been directed periodically throughout Greek history to educate the mass populace and raise the general level of education for all adults. Examples include: the efforts of the poet Hesiod in Archaic and pre-classical times who through his epic poem Works and Days (which dealt with the lives of peasants and farmers) educated the Greek people about justice and injustice and the importance of living in harmony with self, society, and nature. Also, Sappho through her lyric poetry educated the masses about the perils of tyranny. Examples abound throughout Classical Greece: from the introduction by Pericles of the "theorikon" (state funds to cover attendance fees at cultural events for the poor), to the gymnasia which were open to the public, to the public meetings and intermingling of philosophers, artists, etc. as part of everyday life. During the Hellenistic years the soldiers of Alexander did their part in educating

the masses, while in Alexandria many cultural (education) events were open to the public and the state reorganized and maintained learning opportunities for all. During the Graeco-Roman years the Roman Agora continued this tradition and during the long Byzantine Era numerous thrusts were mounted to raise the educational level of the people. The efforts directed to the mass populace during, prior to, and immediately following the War of Independence from Turkish rule have already been stressed. Now, in present day Greece a participatory and self-management philosophy which permeates current ideologies and politics, has propagated practice in which the empowerment of the people to help themselves is being actualized.

3. The development may be seen throughout Greek history of free-standing or informal discussion groups, learning circles, etc. as a form of adult education often--but not always--at the home of a leading statesman or scholar. Examples extend from Plato's symposia in classical times, meetings in the garden of Epicurus during Hellenistic times, discussion groups at the Roman agora during the Graeco-Roman years; during the Byzantine era a reading club at the home of Photius, during the eighth-ninth century, and the lyceum-like Imperial palace of Emperor Leo VI during the tenth century; during the Turkish occupation the formation

of literary discussion clubs in the tenth & eleventh century and the myriad of informal discussion and learning groups which abound throughout modern Greek history.

4. With regard to adult education Greece has never isolated itself from the world.

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